

## The Americanization of the German Language

Heidrun Kämper

Translated by Sally E. Robertson

When cultures come in contact, languages come in contact. Describing the Americanization of the German language therefore means demonstrating linguistic traces of America's cultural, economic, and political influence on Germany. Identifying these traces as Americanisms and distinguishing them unambiguously from Britishisms is a linguistic problem. The origins of many terms are clear, so extralinguistic circumstances have to be taken into consideration – with no guarantee of absolute certainty. Wolfgang Viereck suggests that “[t]he political, economic, technological, and scientific dominance of the United States today indicates a considerably greater influence of American English on German than of British English.”<sup>1</sup> We can therefore speak confidently of an Americanization of Anglicisms. Because Germany has oriented itself toward the United States, the dominant world power, we can assume “the portion of the English language in use in German today that is not clearly counted as AE (American English) or BE (British English) must be regarded as lying under the influence of the United States.”<sup>2</sup> The Americanization of the German language

presents the postwar variant of a gradual Anglicization of German that began in the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

### RESEARCH

At the turn of the century it was still possible to prepare comprehensive lists of English words used in German, and until some time in the 1960s it was possible to specify major areas of communication in which the influence of English was particularly strong. Yet today hardly an area of life exists in which Germans can get by without Americanisms. This point is confirmed by the scholarly literature on the subject. Whereas early research into Anglicisms produced such titles as *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* or *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945*, research now concentrates increasingly on more narrowly delineated topics.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it takes a full

<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Viereck, “Britisches Englisch und Amerikanisches Englisch/Deutsch,” in Werner Besch, Oskar Reichmann, and Stefan Sonderegger, eds., *Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1984), 2:940.

<sup>2</sup> Broder Carstensen and Hans Galinsky, *Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Heidelberg, 1963), 13.

<sup>3</sup> Hans Galinsky, “Amerikanisch-englische und gesamtenglische Interferenzen mit dem Deutschen und anderen Sprachen der Gegenwart,” in Herbert Kolb and Hartmut Lauffer, eds., *Sprachliche Interferenz: Festschrift für Werner Betz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1977), 463–517.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Barbara Engels, *Gebrauchsanstieg der lexikalischen und semantischen Amerikanismen in zwei Jahrgängen der Welt (1954 und 1964): Eine computerlinguistische Studie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1976); Peter A. Schmitt, *Anglizismen in den Fachsprachen: Eine pragmatische Studie am Beispiel der Kerntechnik* (Heidelberg,

three-volume dictionary of Anglicisms<sup>5</sup> to document the advances in Anglicization or Americanization of the German language.

In practical terms, this research falls into the domain of the study of foreign words. Unlike loan-words, that is, assimilated words of foreign origin that have been integrated into the orthographic, phonetic, and grammatical system of the German language – such as the word *Schal* (from the English “shawl”) – foreign words are nonassimilated borrowed terms whose foreign origins are obvious. The main pattern is the simultaneous adoption of a new object and the word to describe it. This is the most common mode of adoption today and an increasing trend. These are also called direct borrowings. In addition, professional research into foreign words distinguishes between so-called loan translations, loan transferrals, and pseudoloan-words. Loan translations are element-for-element translations of foreign words; that is, their semantic content is reflected in words of the receiving language (for instance, *Schwarzmarkt* for black market, *Flutlicht* for floodlight, *Familienplanung* for family planning). Loan transferrals are less strict replicas of a foreign-language expression and not precisely literal (for instance, *Wolkenkratzer* for skyscraper, *Überschallgeschwindigkeit* for supersonic speed, *Datenverarbeitung* for data processing, or *Öffentlichkeitsarbeit* for public relations). Thus, German words can also be identified as Americanisms based on their morphology or American semantics. Finally, pseudoloan-words involve the integration of English words into German that do not exist at all or have a different meaning in the donor language. Examples include *Twens* (twenty-somethings), *Dressman*

(male model), *Heim-/Hometrainer* (home exercise equipment), *Handy* (cellular telephone), *Showmaster* (master of ceremonies on television variety shows), *Callboy* (male prostitute), and *Bordcase* (carry-on luggage).<sup>6</sup> Pseudoloan-words are more symptomatic of cultural overlap than any other form of borrowing; they leave no doubt about the intensity and influence of the donor language and its culture.<sup>7</sup>

#### DOMAINS OF LINGUISTIC AMERICANIZATION

The influence of American English on German began after World War I. During the interwar years, one observer concerned about the purity of the German language already disparagingly noted an “America craze.”<sup>8</sup> This American influence intensified after 1945. The text of the capitulation decree for a defeated Germany reflected the political and resulting linguistic reality: “This Act is drawn up in the English, Russian, and German languages. The English and Russian are the only authentic texts.”<sup>9</sup> The United States was the dominant Western occupying power, its presence in important realms of public life thus paving the way for the Americanization of the German language. Many factors contributed to this process:

<sup>6</sup> See Broder Carstensen, “Semantische Scheinentlehnungen des Deutschen aus dem Englischen,” in Wolfgang Viereck, ed., *Studien zum Einfluss der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche* (Tübingen, 1980), 77–100.

<sup>7</sup> The dates of the following examples do not necessarily indicate their first documented use. Rather, in some cases, they reflect an increasing usage at the time indicated. Thus, Americanization in reference to individual words means not only their first appearance in German, but also a politically or socially dictated increase in their frequency of use at a later point in time. For example, individual occurrences of *Cocktailparty* were documented as early in 1929, but the term was used much more frequently as prosperity increased in the 1950s.

<sup>8</sup> A. J. F. Ziegelschmid, “Englisch-amerikanischer Einfluss auf den Wortschatz der deutschen Sprache der Nachkriegszeit,” *Journal of English and German Philology* 34, no. 1 (1935): 25.

<sup>9</sup> Act of Surrender by Germany, Signed at Berlin, May 8, 1945, in U.S. Department of State, *Documents on Germany, 1944–1985*, 14.

1985); Horst-Ralf Steinbach, *Englisches im deutschen Werbefernsehen: Interlinguale Interferenzen in einer werbesprachlichen Textsorte* (Paderborn, 1984); Karin Viereck, *Englisches Wortgut, seine Häufigkeit und Integration in der österreichischen und bundesdeutschen Pressesprache* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980); Wenliang Yang, *Anglizismen im Deutschen: Am Beispiel des Nachrichtenmagazins “Der Spiegel”* (Tübingen, 1990).

<sup>5</sup> Broder Carstensen and Ulrich Busse, eds., *Anglizismen-Wörterbuch: Der Einfluss des Englischen auf den deutschen Wortschatz nach 1945*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1993–6).

[T]he presence of large numbers of American soldiers and civilians on German soil; the publication by Americans of a nationwide newspaper (*Die Neue Zeitung*) for several years after the war; the spread of American movies, songs, periodicals, paperbacks and plays . . . the imitation of comic strips and comic books; the existence of AFN (American Forces Network); the presence of unilingual or bilingual street-signs in German traffic; the return of German emigrants after long years of residence in an American or bilingual setting.<sup>10</sup>

This political influence is most clearly seen in the realms of politics<sup>11</sup> and the military.<sup>12</sup> *Eiserner Vorhang* (Iron Curtain) and *schwarzer Markt* (black market) were among the first English borrowings of the early postwar period. They are Americanisms that describe essentially German situations that were at the same time essentially American in the early postwar period. The other political and military borrowings reflect the stabilization of Germany's integration into the West, but also the development of the political climate from the Cold War to détente.

The decisive factor underlying the affinity of Germans for Americanisms in the early postwar period was a conscious political – and therefore also linguistic – orientation toward the United

States.<sup>13</sup> The desire to connect with the West was the reason for German adaption to the language of the American news agencies; it was not simply an involuntary orientation, forced on them because the occupation forces had added American journalism to the reeducation curriculum. The press and publishing industry were the most important areas for linguistic Americanization, only second to the political and military arenas. The print media were the most important conduits for German borrowings from American English, and *Der Spiegel* played a decisive role in this process. In 1965, this weekly was described as the "primary port by which Americanisms entered the German language after 1945,"<sup>14</sup> and it remained so until 1990. The ten most commonly used Anglicisms in *Der Spiegel* between 1950 and 1980 were *Konzern* (concern, as in company), *Partner*, *Computer* (beginning in 1970), *Manager*, *Video* (beginning in 1970), *Export*, *Service* (beginning in 1960), *Club/Klub*, *Star*, and *Parlament*. The most recent Anglicisms documented in *Der Spiegel* since 1980 have been *Popper* (the rough equivalent of preppies), *Cruise Missile*, *Mokick* (a small motorbike with a kickstarter), *Synthesizer*, *Recycling*, *Fixer*, and *Timer*. When we look at five different areas of communication separately, the distribution of the most commonly used Anglicisms is as follows: foreign and domestic policy (23 percent): *Partner*, *Parlament*, *Streik* (strike), *parlamentarisch*, *Reporter*, *Konzern*, *Boss*, *Club/Klub*, *Job*, *Boycott*; culture and education (22.4 percent): *Video*, *Sex*, *TV*, *Rock*, *Reporter*, *Konzern*, *Partner*, *Bestseller*, *Manager*, *Star*, economics and finance (13.4 percent): *Konzern*, *Manager*, *Export*, *Partner*, *Investment*, *Computer*, *Boss*, *Import*, *Start*, *Koks* (slang for money); sports (7.1 percent): *Trainer*, *Star*, *Training*, *Club/Klub*, *Boxer*, *boxen*, *Rekord*,

<sup>10</sup> Galinsky, "Amerikanisch-englische und gesamtenglische Interferenzen," 463–517.

<sup>11</sup> 1946 *Eiserner Vorhang*, *schwarzer Markt*; 1947 *Bananenrepublik*, *Displaced Person*; 1948 *Kalter Krieg*; 1951 *Containment*, *Goodwill*; 1954 *Erdbeben*, *friedliche Koexistenz*, *multilateral*, *atlantisch*; 1956 *Lobby*; 1957 *Entwicklungsland*, *Geburtenkontrolle*; 1958 *Gipfelkonferenz*; 1959 *Entwicklungshilfe*, *Filibuster*; 1961 *Eskalation*; 1962 *First Lady*; 1963 *Votum*, *multilateral*; 1966 *Bevölkerungsexplosion*; 1967 *Wechselwähler*; 1968 *blockfrei*, *Neue Linke*; 1969 *Balance of power*, *law and order*, *Vietnamisierung*; 1974 *Watergate*; 1976 *Vierte Welt*; 1977 *Nord-Süd-Dialog*; 1978 *Viererbande*; 1979 *Hardliner*, *Linkage*, *Checks and balances*; 1981 *Nulllösung*; 1983 *Bermuda-Dreieck*.

<sup>12</sup> 1947 *Wasserstoffbombe*; 1948 *GI*, *Luftbrücke*; 1949 *Aggression*; 1950 *A-Bombe*; 1955 *ABC-*; 1956 *nuklear*; 1957 *Abschreckungstheorie*; 1959 *atomar*, *einfrieren*; 1961 *flexible response*; 1963 *Minuteman*, *Overkill*, *Vorwärtsverteidigung*, *Atomversuchsstopp*; 1964 *Abfangjäger*; 1966 *De-Eskalation*, *Starfighter*; 1967 *Vorneverteidigung*; 1969 *Supermacht*; 1977 *Cruise Missile*, *Marschflugkörper*, *Zweitschlag*; 1979 *Backfire-Bomber*, *Frühwarnsystem*, *Pershing*; 1981 *Erstschlag*; 1984 *Krieg der Sterne*, *Star Wars*, *Strategische Verteidigungsinitiative*; 1985 *SDI*.

<sup>13</sup> "This linguistic interference phenomenon is an actively receptive linguistic attitude on the part of postwar Germans of all social classes, in which as many as possible of the small, external objects associated with newness, freedom, and modernity were labeled with English words" (Peter von Polenz, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* [Berlin, 1978], 141).

<sup>14</sup> Broder Carstensen, *Englische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache nach 1945* (Heidelberg, 1965), 22.

Bob (bobsled), Kicker, Manager, and science and technology (5.8 percent): *City, Konzern, Text, Video, Manager, Computer, TV*.<sup>15</sup>

In science and technology, the twelve-year gap of National Socialism is especially evident.<sup>16</sup> Germans have sought connection to the outside through adoption of terms from the outside, and the economic upswing was accompanied by an increase in the influence of American advertising language,<sup>17</sup> which was in turn intensified by the trend toward economic internationalization. Labeling a product with borrowed British or American English names guaranteed its international recognizability. Although English or American origins were not always apparent, it seems to be true that "certain English morphological patterns have caused and continue to stimulate an increase in the frequency of corresponding German morphology."<sup>18</sup> An above-average incidence of Americanisms has surfaced in advertising language for the media, leisure, photography and optics, transportation, and tourism, particularly when American companies have been on display. Examining mail-order advertising, Hermann Fink used the *Quelle* catalog of fall-winter 1974-5 to show the relationship between culture and language, between cultural and linguistic interference:

<sup>15</sup> Yang, *Anglizismen im Deutschen*, 30-7.

<sup>16</sup> 1946 Radar, 1947 Atommeiler, Pipeline, Plastik, Reaktor, Transistor, 1949 Netzwerk, Spike; 1952 Know-how, 1955 Off-shore-, 1956 Automation; 1959 Flutlicht, Hardtop; 1960 Laser, 1961 Aircondition; 1962 vollklimatisiert, Zoom, Defroster, 1963 Senkrechtstarter, vollautomatisch, Technologie; 1964 Supertanker, 1966 schneller Brüter, 1967 Kick-down, Sensor, Spider, 1968 Dimmer, Fisheye, Sandwich-, Ticker, 1969 Aquaplaning, Solar-, technologisch, waterproof; 1970 Choke; 1971 Shredder, 1974 Airbag, Spoiler, 1977 Tacker, Technologietransfer, CB-Funk; 1981 High Technology; 1984 High-Tech, Hochtechnologie, Technologie-Park.

<sup>17</sup> 1949 Color, 1951 Public Relations; 1954 Layout; 1956 Automatic; 1959 Öffentlichkeitsarbeit; 1961 Product-, Visualizer, 1962 Lady-, -sicher; 1963 Display, Merchandising, PR; 1966 Eyecatcher, 1967 Werbespot; 1968 Commercial, Instant-, ready-made; 1969 Renner, Testimonial-Anzeige; 1971 Direct Mail; 1972 Jumbo-; 1975 Jingle; 1977 Atomizer, Quartzuhr; 1979 No-name-, Pocket-; 1984 light; 1985 Product-Placement; 1988 Logo.

<sup>18</sup> Steinbach, *Englisches im deutschen Werbefernsehen*, 240.

"The mail-order business was created in the United States, and the German mail-order catalog is probably largely an imitation of the American model." Fink showed that the highest incidence of Americanisms appeared in the areas of textiles and clothing or fashion, sports, games, and cosmetics.<sup>19</sup>

The Americanization of the German language quickly spread to nearly all spheres of life. Music<sup>20</sup>; the stock market, economics, banking, and finance<sup>21</sup>; fashion, clothing, and textiles<sup>22</sup>; cosmetics<sup>23</sup>; sports and fitness<sup>24</sup>; airlines,

<sup>19</sup> Hermann Fink, "Ein 'Starangebot': Englisches im Versandhauskatalog," *Muttersprache* 5 (1976): 342.

<sup>20</sup> 1947 Band, Hitparade, Swing; 1949 Jam Session, Song; 1953 Background, Bebop, Big Band, Boogie, Discjockey, Drummer, hot, Sound, Vibraphon, Vokalist; 1954 Jukebox; 1956 Musical, Musikbox, Rock 'n' Roll; 1957 Jazzfestival, Rhythm 'n' Blues; 1959 Bandleader, heiss, Skiffle; 1962 Sample; 1963 Hitliste, Single; 1964 Label, Popmusik; 1966 Album, Soul; 1967 Cover, Pop, Psychedelic; 1969 Hardrock; 1970 Openair-Festival; 1973 Charts, DJ, Funk, Roadie; 1974 Easy listening; 1976 Top Ten; 1977 Punk, Soundcheck; 1978 Discofieber, 1979 Heavy Metal; 1983 Breakdance; 1985 sampeln.

<sup>21</sup> 1949 Unterbeschäftigung; 1954 Boom, Rezession, Swing; 1957 fixen; 1962 Investment, Swap; 1963 Investor; 1968 Joint venture; 1970 Stagflation; 1971 Realignment; 1973 Float; 1974 Nullwachstum; 1977 Kreditkarte; 1984 Venture-Capital.

<sup>22</sup> 1947 New Look; 1950 Blue Jeans, Sweater, 1954 Petticoat; 1962 Synthetic, fully fashioned; 1963 Stretch, Bermudas, College-; 1965 Panty; 1966 Minirock, Outfit; 1967 Coordinate, Mini; 1968 T-Shirt, Cotton, Parka; 1969 Unisex, Afro-Look, Bodystocking, Lumber, Pants; 1970 Partnerlook; 1971 Shirt, Bodysuit, Clog, heiße Höschen, Hot Pants; 1973 Sportswear, 1974 Sweatshirt; 1982 stone-washed; 1983 Legwarmer; 1984 oversized; 1986 Body; 1990 Leggings.

<sup>23</sup> 1947 Make-up; 1957 Lotion; 1962 Deodorant; 1963 After Shave, Pre Shave, Schönheitsfarm; 1966 Skin-; 1967 Liquid, Cleanser, Lidschatten, liften; 1968 -Cream, Curler, Eyeliner, Eyeshadow; 1969 Facelifting, -Fluid; 1970 Deo; 1972 Lip Gloss, Milk; 1980 Hair-Stylet.

<sup>24</sup> 1947 Doping; 1952 Squash; 1954 Basketball, Foul, Rallye, Volleyball; 1962 Bodybuilder; 1963 Bowling, Minigolf; 1966 Circuit-Training; 1967 Sparringspartner; 1969 Fitness, Schneemobil, Snowmobil; 1970 Skateboard, trimmen; 1972 Frisbee, Hometrainer, Wellenreiten; 1973 Heimtrainer, 1974 Windsurfer, 1978 joggen, Jogging; 1979 Roller-Skate; 1980 Aerobic; 1982 Funboard; 1983 Stretching, Snowboard; 1986 Mountain-Bike; 1987 Zirkeltraining; 1988 Workout; 1989 Skater, 1990 Rafting; 1991 Bungee-Jumping.

tourism, and travel<sup>25</sup>; records, video, and TV<sup>26</sup>; entertainment<sup>27</sup>; and film<sup>28</sup> are realms of linguistic reference that reveal a particularly high incidence of Americanisms, especially in the first two postwar decades. Their significance as collection points for Americanisms has continued to the present day. Americanisms can be found as designations for dining facilities<sup>29</sup> and for food and beverages,<sup>30</sup> as well as for terms of the business and professional world. Among the latter, we can differentiate between value-free, neutral technical terms,<sup>31</sup> and concepts for

<sup>25</sup> 1949 *Charterflug*; 1950 *trampen*; 1953 *Camping, Motel*; 1956 *Sightseeing*; 1957 *Autostopp*; 1959 *Jet*; 1960 *Gangway*; 1961 *Cockpit*; 1962 *globetrotten*; 1963 *Wohnmobil, Airline*; 1964 *Airport*; 1966 *Bordcase, Fly and Drive*; 1967 *Taxfree-Shop, Airbus*; 1968 *Counter*; 1969 *Mobilheim, Packagetour, Reisemobil, Terminal*; 1974 *Duty-free-Shop, Voucher*; 1977 *Standby*; 1978 *ABC*; 1979 *Business-Class, Trekking*; 1982 *Sex-Tourismus*; 1985 *Bordkarte*; 1988 *Last minute*.

<sup>26</sup> 1947 *Kanal*; 1949 *Seifenoper, Soap Opera*; 1957 *Hifi, High Fidelity, Television*; 1961 *TV*; 1963 *Tuner*; 1965 *Portable*; 1967 *Cassetten-Recorder*; 1968 *Tape, Videorecorder*; 1969 *Insert, LP*; 1971 *Warm-up, Videothek*; 1972 *Serial*; 1974 *Kabelfernsehen*; 1976 *Special*; 1977 *Tapedeck, Videotext, Videoclip, Receiver*; 1978 *Frontlader*; 1981 *Videokamera, Compact-Disc*; 1982 *Videofilm, Videokassette, Videospiel, - Player*; 1983 *CD, Frühstückfernsehen*; 1984 *Zapping*; 1985 *Prime time, Teleshopping*; 1986 *Camcorder*; 1993 *Reality-TV, Satellitenschüssel*.

<sup>27</sup> 1947 *Comeback, Quiz*; 1949 *Thriller*; 1953 *Starlet*; 1954 *live*; 1956 *Fan, Quizmaster, Showbusiness, Sponsor, sponsoren*; 1960 *Grusical*; 1961 *Oscar*; 1962 *Entertainer, Live-, Newcomer*; 1967 *Stern*; 1968 *Light-Show, Promoter*; 1969 *One-Man-Show*; 1970 *Personality-Show*; 1971 *Talk*; 1973 *Talkmaster, Talkshow*; 1978 *Ein-Mann-Show*; 1982 *Standing Ovation*; 1987 *Sponsoring*; 1989 *Infotainment*; 1990 *Gameshow*.

<sup>28</sup> 1952 *Skript*; 1954 *Science-fiction, Koproduktion*; 1956 *Breitwand, Cinemascope, Cutterin, Remake*; 1959 *Western*; 1961 *Producer*; 1962 *Horrorfilm*; 1963 *Actionfilm*; 1964 *Slapstick*; 1965 *Treatment*; 1967 *Action, cutten, Filmfestival*; 1968 *Stuntman*; 1971 *Suspense*; 1973 *Stunt*; 1978 *Trailer*; 1979 *Stuntfrau, Road Movie*; 1981 *Quickie*.

<sup>29</sup> 1947 *Nachtklub*; 1959 *Cafeteria*; 1963 *American bar, Coffeeshop*; 1967 *Nightclub*.

<sup>30</sup> 1949 *Coca-Cola*; 1959 *Softdrink*; 1961 *Kartoffelchips, Long Drink, Tonic Water*; 1963 *Cocktail, Softeis*; 1964 *Hot Dog*; 1966 *Appetizer, Dip*; 1967 *Flips, Convenience Food, Dressing, Snack*; 1970 *Bitter Lemon*; 1979 *Cracker*.

<sup>31</sup> 1949 *Management, Marktforschung*; 1952 *Marketing*; 1955 *Off-shore-*; 1956 *-Engineer, Unternehmensforschung*; 1957 *Verkaufstrainer*; 1959 *Holding*; 1961 *Designer*; 1962

business behavior that frequently carry a negative connotation,<sup>32</sup> names for work relationships that are viewed positively,<sup>33</sup> and jargon.<sup>34</sup> The language of the recent environmental movement, which grew out of the American student movement, also contains numerous Americanisms. *Umweltschutz* (environmental protection) has become a political buzzword, even in the vocabulary of the conservative political parties.<sup>35</sup>

The terminology of these fields shows that linguistic Americanization is primarily pragmatic. Words have been imported along with objects or ideas. Their adoption therefore documents stances, attitudes, and mental states. They reveal a German affinity for the American lifestyle. Use of the term *American way of life* in German can be traced back as far as 1957. Names for particular social activities also suggest this affinity.<sup>36</sup> In addition to *Outdoor Activities* (1974),<sup>37</sup> Germans have forms of domesticity<sup>38</sup> such as *Cocooning* (1990), which appears to be the most recent stop on the retreat into private life.

Social change is also reflected in the Americanization of that area of German vocabulary that concerns the postwar "sexual revolution." The prudery of the 1950s gave rise to terms such as *Sex* in 1954, *sexy* in 1956, *Sexbombe* and

*Leasing*; 1963 *Trainee, Consulting, Industrial-Design*; 1965 *Brainstorming*; 1970 *Teamer*; 1972 *leasen*; 1978 *Franchise*; 1990 *electronic cash*.

<sup>32</sup> 1949 *Dumping*; 1961 *Dumpingpreis*; 1962 *feuern*; 1969 *hire and fire*.

<sup>33</sup> 1954 *Teamwork*; 1961 *Teamarbeit*; 1977 *Teamgeist*.

<sup>34</sup> 1949 *Boss*; 1962 *Moneymaker, (Big) Business, Clan*; 1965 *Tycoon*; 1972 *Deal, Headhunter*; 1973 *Mafia*; 1975 *Crash*; 1977 *Job-Killer*; 1969 *ausdünnen*; 1981 *Peanuts*; 1986 *Geldwäscher(ei), Plastikgeld*.

<sup>35</sup> 1962 *Fallout*; 1963 *Wegwerf-*; 1969 *Recycling*; 1970 *Umwelt-, Umweltschutz, Umweltverschmutzung*; 1971 *umweltbewusst*; 1977 *recyclen*; 1982 *saurer Regen*; 1988 *Treibhauseffekt*.

<sup>36</sup> 1949 *Bottle-Party*; 1957 *Cocktailparty* (isolated occurrences as early as 1929; *Cocktail* documented as early as 1864); 1959 *Dinner*; 1964 *Candlelight-Dinner*; 1967 *Barbecue, Sonntagsbrunch*; 1968 *Dinnerparty*.

<sup>37</sup> 1956 *Autokino, Drive-in*; 1963 *Shopping*; 1967 *Holiday*; 1980 *Window-Shopping*.

<sup>38</sup> 1947 *Hobby*; 1957 *Swimmingpool*; 1963 *Living room*; 1969 *Homedress, open house*; 1972 *Hollywood-Schaukel*; 1974 *Pool*; 1976 *Partyservice*.

*Striptease* in 1957. A sexual "liberation" followed that lasted until the beginning of the 1980s,<sup>39</sup> when a more restrictive atmosphere took over due to the spread of the AIDS virus. The adoption of *Safe Sex* in German (1986) is one example of this development.

Youth groups and their chosen forms of expression have dominated the pluralistic, Western-oriented society of the Federal Republic. Not until the end of the 1970s did terms such as *Oldie* and *Graue Panther* (gray panther) appear, indicating a change in self-perception and increased self-confidence on the part of the older generation. Society today is highly differentiated according to age and associated lifestyles, income, music preferences, and degree of politicization.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, the *Streetworkers* who entered the language in 1977 were linguistic evidence of the social problems created by modern consumer society. The youth movement of the 1960s had perhaps the most lasting effect. Its social criticism has continued to influence public discussion with many of its own terms.<sup>41</sup> Those include above all expressions criticizing relationships produced by power politics and traditional worldviews.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, other terms were adopted to describe behaviors and protest forms with a positive connotation.<sup>43</sup> The hippie movement also influenced the drug jargon that emerged from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, and is one of the most developed

American semantic fields in German.<sup>44</sup> Adoption of American vocabulary for describing human qualities has been particularly informative, especially numerous positive expressions, many of which had their origins in contemporary youth language.<sup>45</sup> Descriptions of human characteristics with negative connotations, on the other hand, often originate outside the language popular among youth.<sup>46</sup>

Until the end of the 1950s, Americanization of German vocabulary reflected the specific postwar political situation and the efforts of the United States to integrate the Federal Republic into the West. Beginning in the early 1960s, however, another linguistic borrowing phase referring to other areas of life became evident. The sharp increase in borrowings from American English in the 1960s underscores the Western orientation of German society. German vocabulary of course continued to reflect American political and military dominance, but some forms of economic and cultural adoption were also evident. Research into Anglicisms in Germany also began around 1963. While Americanization in Germany was at first spread by elites, particularly the middle class, the most important vehicles for Americanization of the German language in the 1960s were youth language and a subculture that stretched across the Atlantic.

#### AMERICANIZATION AS A REFLECTION OF EAST-WEST INTEGRATION

English had a differing impact on the the variants of German spoken in the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It was not uncommon for Americanisms used in

<sup>39</sup> 1962 *Playboy*, *Playmate*, *Stripper*; 1963 *Strip*, *strippen*; 1964 *Stripperin*; 1966 *Latin Lover*, 1974 *Sexshop*; 1976 *Peep-Show*.

<sup>40</sup> 1950 *Teenager*, 1957 *angry young man*, *zorniger junger Mann*, *Teen*; 1958 *Twen*; 1962 *Beat Generation*, *Beatnik*; 1963 *Rocker*, *Outcast*; 1966 *Underdog*; 1967 *Blumenkind*, *Hippie*; 1968 *Yippie*, *Youngster*, 1973 *Kids*, *Single*; 1975 *Skinhead*; 1977 *Oldie*; 1979 *Gay*, *Graue Panther*, 1980 *Popper*; 1983 *Skin*, *Streetfighter*, 1984 *Yuppie*; 1987 *Dinks*.

<sup>41</sup> 1962 *Establishment*, *White-Collar*; 1963 *Jet Set*; 1964 *Überflusgesellschaft*; 1967 *Snobiety*; 1968 *Weisse Kragen*; 1971 *Wegwerfgesellschaft*.

<sup>42</sup> 1954 *Wunschdenken*; 1968 *Einweg-*, *Traum-*; 1969 *Grosser Bruder*, 1970 *schweigende Mehrheit*; 1971 *amerikanischer Traum*; 1979 *Big Brother*, *Traumfabrik*.

<sup>43</sup> 1962 *human touch*; 1963 *Happening*; 1966 *Sit-in*; 1967 *Go-in*, *Love-in*, *Flower Power*; 1969 *ziviler Ungehorsam*; 1972 *Women's Lib*; 1974 *alternativ*; 1981 *Die-in*.

<sup>44</sup> 1966 *Trip*; 1967 *Pot*; 1968 *Joint*, *Junkie*; 1969 *Droge*, *high*, *Shit*; 1970 *fixen*, *Fixer*, *Grass*, *User*, 1972 *antornen*, *ausstippen*, *kiffen*; 1973 *Dope*, *Horrortrip*; 1974 *Dealer*, *stoned*; 1975 *dealen*, *Kick*; 1977 *clean*, *Flash*, *Schuss*, *sniffen*; 1979 *Schnee*, *Speed*; 1982 *Cold turkey*, *Sniff*, 1985 *Crack*, *Designer-Droge*; 1987 *Ecstasy*.

<sup>45</sup> 1954 *Allroundman*, *clever*, 1961 *ambitioniert*,  *kreativ*, 1963 *hip*, *tough*; 1964 *happy*; 1967 *cool*, *in*, *Sunnyboy*; 1968 *popig*; 1969 *Number one*, *Senkrechtstarter*; 1976 *Softie*; 1978 *flippig*, *softig*, *taff*; 1979 *Power*, 1983 *Crack*; 1987 *freakig*.

<sup>46</sup> 1957 *Highbrow*; 1962 *Babitt*, *Snobismus*; 1963 *Papiertiger*, 1976 *Looser*.



the Federal Republic – such as *Trend*, *Hobby*, or *Job* – to find their way into the everyday speech of the GDR.<sup>47</sup> Thus, by 1980, one East German linguist determined that one can “hardly still argue that the spread of Anglo-American vocabulary into the everyday speech of the GDR has been minimal.”<sup>48</sup> Unlike the Federal Republic, the GDR did not feel Anglo-American influences until the late 1960s. There was usually a one- to two-year delay in the adoption of Americanisms in the GDR, as a comparison of the East and West German editions of *Duden*, the authoritative reference book on German usage, reveals.<sup>49</sup> The East German daily press frequently explained expressions that were to be formally adopted into contemporary vocabulary.<sup>50</sup>

Expressions such as *Business*, *Boss*, *Publicity*, *High Society*, *Job*, *Sexappeal*, *Shakehands*, *Boom*, *Investment*, *Leasing*, *Lobby*, *Manager*, *Marketing*, *Styling*, *Callgirl*, *Kid*, *Tiebreak*, *Layouter* (layout personnel in publishing), *Single*, *Dealer*, and *Discountgeschäft* (discount store) were adopted in the GDR's language through ideological critiques of the manifestations and institutions of the capitalist world. Anticapitalist rhetoric was, therefore, an “important source for the penetration of Anglo-American linguistic material into the socialist world.”<sup>51</sup> Such expressions often bore

negative associations.<sup>52</sup> However, some Anglicisms that were typical of the GDR but not in common use in the Federal Republic reflected the socialist reality of the GDR, including such terms as *Broiler*, *Kombine* (combine harvester), *Dispatcher*, *Meeting*, *Disco-Sprecher*, *Pop-Gymnastik* (aerobics performed to popular music), *Parken und Reisen* (park and ride), *Inter-Shop*, *Inter-Hotel*, and *Plaste* (plastics).

#### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMERICANISMS AND INTERNATIONALISMS

Americanization of national languages has been a worldwide phenomenon that received an unusually strong impetus in Germany because of the particular conditions of the postwar period. The Americanization of German language today can thus hardly still be described as an effect of the occupation. “Linguistic borrowing results from the abundance of international relationships, from cooperation and contacts in economics, military affairs, politics, culture, tourism, and sports.”<sup>53</sup> This has been true above all for borrowing in the field of computers.<sup>54</sup> It is the field that most strongly influences our

<sup>47</sup> Hugo Moser, “Die Entwicklung der deutschen Sprache seit 1945,” in Besch, Reichmann, and Sonderegger, eds., *Sprachgeschichte*, 1691.

<sup>48</sup> Helmut Langner, “Zum Einfluss des Angloamerikanischen auf die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart,” *Sprachpflege* 29 (1980): 73.

<sup>49</sup> See Ulrich Busse, *Anglizismen im Duden: Eine Untersuchung zur Darstellung englischen Wörtguts in den Ausgaben des Rechtschreibbuchs von 1880–1986* (Tübingen, 1993). For the 1986 (East German) edition, Lehnert lists *Allroundman*, *Bit*, *Black box*, *Blackout*, *Caravan*, *Country-music*, *Decoder*, *Diskjockey*, *Drummer*, *floaten*, *Holocaust*, *Input*, *Jogging*, *Spiritual*, *Oldie*, *Public Relations*, *Surfer*, *Talk-Show*, *Terminal*, *T-Shirt*, *Understatement*, *Zoom*; see Martin Lehnert, *Anglo-Amerikanisches im Sprachgebrauch der DDR* (Berlin, 1990), 61.

<sup>50</sup> Roll-on-roll-off-Schiffe, *Swing*, *Country-music*, *Black-Power-Bewegung*, *Freeze-Bewegung*, *Patchwork*, *Rooming-in*, *Remake*, *Shredder*, *Engineering*, *Consulting*, *Pluralismus*, *Informatik*, *Schlüsseltechnologie*.

<sup>51</sup> Lehnert, *Anglo-Amerikanisches im Sprachgebrauch der DDR*, 59.

<sup>52</sup> “When using these words, one should take care to prevent elements of meaning that are foreign to the socialist lifestyle from invading our language and thereby our consciousness” (Langner, “Einfluss des Angloamerikanischen,” 69).

<sup>53</sup> Heidmarie C. Langner, *Die Schreibung englischer Entlehnungen im Deutschen: Eine Untersuchung zur Orthographie von Anglizismen in den letzten hundert Jahren, dargestellt anhand des Dudens* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 35.

<sup>54</sup> 1947 *Programm*; 1959 *digital*; 1962 *Daten*, *Datenverarbeitung*, *Elektronengehirn*, *Computer*, *Disc*, *Hotline*, *Operator*, *Programmierer*; 1964 *füttern*; 1967 *Datenbank*, *Halbleiter*, *Modul*, *Software*; 1968 *Terminal*; 1969 *EDV*, *Operating*, *programmieren*, *Scanner*, *Data-*; 1971 *Display*; 1974 *Anwender*, *Compiler*, *Composer*, *Hardware*; 1976 *Mikroprozessor*; 1977 *Code*, *Floppy disk*; 1978 *Bit*, *Modem*, *Password*, *RAM*, *ROM*, *User*; 1979 *Network*; 1980 *Diskette*, *Heimcomputer*; 1981 *CAD*, *CAE*, *CAM*, *computerunterstützt*, *intelligent*, *Interface*; 1982 *Programmiersprache*; 1983 *hacken*, *Homecomputer*, *Joystick*, *Personalcomputer*; 1984 *Cracker*, *Hacker*, *künstliche Intelligenz*, *Maus*, *PC*; 1985 *Mailbox*; 1987 *CD-ROM*, *Strichcode*, *Menü*; 1988 *Laptop*, *Touchscreen*, 1989 *Computervirus*, 1990 *Notebook*.

lives today, and its vocabulary contains the highest proportion of Americanisms because of U.S. dominance in this technology sector. Scientific terminology, conferences, and technical publications are the transmission routes for English in this era of increasing international cooperation.<sup>55</sup> Computer vocabulary has become increasingly well-established since the 1960s and, especially, 1970s. In a narrow sense, it is a technical vocabulary, but it illustrates a general trend in present-day language; namely, that there are no longer clear boundaries between technical and general language. As the computer field demonstrates, borrowing in a specific technical field is later spread within everyday speech as a whole. At the same time, English has become the *lingua franca* in the second half of the twentieth century. The spread of American English is a manifestation of this trend toward globalization. Research will have to deal with this linguistic globalization by viewing foreign expressions increasingly as internationalisms, as lexemes and word groups that are semantically identical or similar in form in several world languages because

"differentiation and integration are sub-trends in the internationalization process."<sup>56</sup> Many of these internationalisms are of Greco-Roman origin, such as *Mikroelektronik* and *Television*, or contain Greco-Roman morphological elements, such as anti-, auto-, bi-, co-, ex-, inter-, iso-, makro-, mikro-, pro-, and super-, which are simultaneously also Americanisms.

To speak of an Americanization of the German language thus does not capture the whole picture. The Germans still speak German. American expressions are used as needed. This presents no "danger" to national languages.<sup>57</sup> Rather, it is a sign of growing internationalism.

<sup>56</sup> Karl-Ernst Sommerfeldt, ed., *Entwicklungstendenzen in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Leipzig, 1988), 159.

<sup>57</sup> Busse traces the linguistic consequences of this development, which certainly is not a threat to the German language when viewed from the perspective of the German vocabulary as a whole. He describes the increase in Anglicisms/Americanisms in *Duden* from 1880 to 1986. The bottom line was an increase from 1.36 percent (1880) to 3.46 percent in the West (1986) and 2.77 percent in the East (1986); see Busse, *Anglizismen im Duden*.

<sup>55</sup> See Schmitt, *Anglizismen in den Fachsprachen*.